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Neglecting for a moment the additional furnishings of the more urbanized and well to do, one may declare the domestic equipment within the house to be almost entirely pre-Columbian. The kitchen is the center of domestic activity, and around it cluster most of the accessories. Four features are inevitably present in all houses, of whatever poverty or pretensions. These four features vary hardly at all in form or position,[1] and preserve, hardly modified at all, pre-Columbian form and function. These four are the hearth, the griddle, the grinding-stone, and the pot. The hearth (S. *tlequil;* N. *tlequililtl*) is sometimes no more than three stones set in a triangle to support the griddle; but more often it is of many stones, plastered, and horseshoe shaped. Upon it fits the griddle (S. *comal;* N. *comalli*), a flat, circular tray, which occurs in only one diameter (about eighteen inches). Although griddles of iron are common in the cities, in Tepoztlán they are always of clay. When not in use the griddle stands on edge at the back of the *tlequil.* The three-legged grinding-stones (S. *metate;* N. *metlatl*) with their long handstone (S. *metlapil;* N. *metlapilli*) are of the well-known pattern. They are of andesite. The pot in which the maize is cooked (S. *olla de nixtamal;* N. *nexcomitl*) stands beside the hearth.

In some houses the *tlequil,* which burns wood, is supplemented by the brazier (S. *brasero*) of Spanish origin. This burns charcoal. It may be of iron and brought from the city, or it may be a homemade copy

[1] Cf. Bandelier, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Starr, *Notes on the Ethnography* . . . . , p. 3.

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252 in stone and clay. Only a small part of cookery in [354] Tepoztlán is done on the brazier.

Most of the other articles which contribute to culinary technique are Indian, not European. The [412] small andesite mortar (S. *molcajete;* N. *molcaxitl*) and the pestle (S. *tejolote;* N. *texolotl*) are used chiefly for grinding *chile*. Two of the three common forms of 285 basket are likewise pre-Columbian in general char- 415 acter. These are the forms without handles: the *chiquihuite* (N. *xiquihuitl*), which is stiff, as wide as it is deep, and coiled on splints; and the *tompiate* (N. *tompiatl*), which is flexible, twice as deep as it is wide, and woven of soft reed. The other basket, which is of the shape of an ordinary European market basket, with a handle, has no Nahuatl name (it is always called *canasta*), and is apparently a form introduced [177] by the Spaniards. Its principal use is in marketing; [482] therefore it is carried only by women, and on the left arm under the *rebozo*. The whole forms a *canasta-* [562] *rebozo* minor complex of post-Columbian development.

The other two baskets are used for the storage and [251] transport of food (the *chiquihuite* is also used to strain [252] honey), and may be carried by either man or woman.

177 Mexican pottery has been much modified since the Conquest. Many forms are European, and the ware is 323 in general inferior. Shell-decorated Cuernavaca pottery is common in Tepoztlán, and there are occasional pieces of glazed and painted Oaxaca ware. The ware in general use in cookery is the plain ware of Toluca. [415] The pot (S. *olla;* N. *xoctli*) preserves the ancient form;

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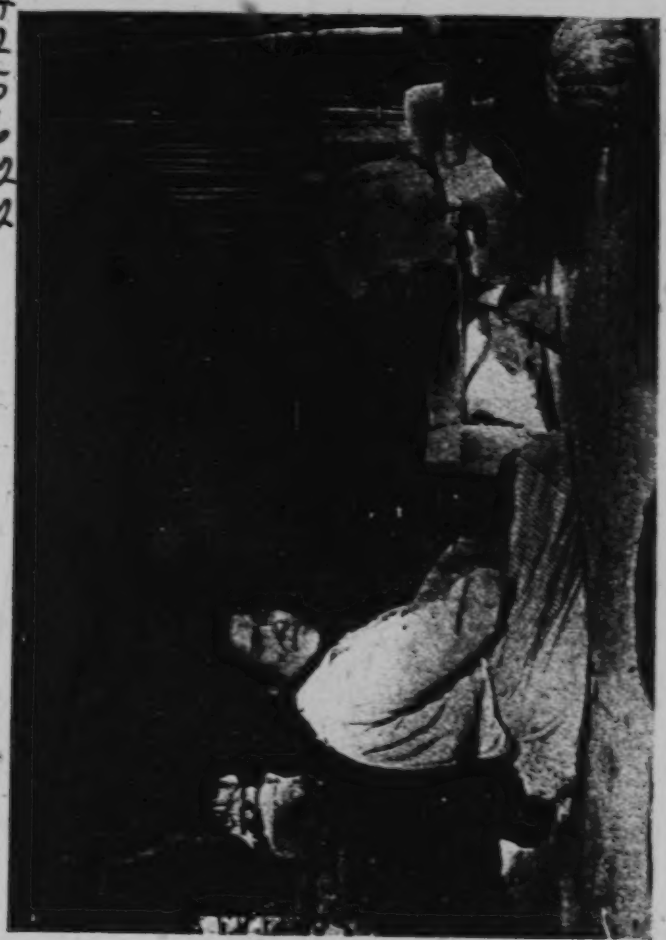

KITCHEN: SHOWING *TLEQUIL, COMAL, METATE, METLAPIL, OLLA DE NIXTAMAL,* AND *BATEA*

[facing page 36]

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the pitcher (S. *jarro*) and the saucer (S. *cazuela*) are more European than Indian and are mentioned by the Spanish names only.

Minor elements in the culinary paraphernalia are the shallow wooden boat-shaped mixing bowl (S. *batea*), the wooden spoon (S. *batedor*), and the small, rectangular, handled fan (S. *aventador*) with which the fire is blown up. For picking fruit from trees a cage-like picker of cane, on the end of a long pole, is employed. This is called (S.) *canastilla* or (N.) *acatecomatl*.

Other house furnishings vary considerably with the wealth and education of the owner. Characteristically, however, the bed (S. *cama*; N. *tlapechtli*) is a mat (S. *petate*; N. *petlatl*) spread on the ground or on a low wooden platform. Often another aboriginal form of bed is used: splints of Mexican *bambú* (S. *otate*; N. *ohtlatl*) are stretched in both directions across a framework of low posts driven in the ground. Tables are common but often absent in poorer houses. The backed chair is not rare, but much commoner is the low, backless bench. Although occasionally reminiscent of the pre-Columbian *icpalli*, it nevertheless is generally European in form. No adult sleeps in a hammock, but babies are usually cradled in a flat, swinging framework which is homemade. This resembles other Indian cradle-frames, but bears the Taino name *hamaca*.

Certain domestic accessories of European origin have become firmly associated with the aboriginal elements and are always found in the house. Chief among these are the steel knife, the small iron kerosene flare

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may be added. Loose white trousers (S. *calzones*; N. *cahzon*) of the same material are worn. These are wide at the waist; the sides are crossed in front and the trousers are held up by a cloth belt or sash (S. *faja* or *ceñidor*; N. *teilpiloni*). A man often goes barefoot. The sandals are of the ancient pattern except that steer leather is used. A woman does not wear sandals except when traveling. The straw hat (S. *sombrero*; N. *cuatlayecahuilotl*), worn almost everywhere in Mexico, is of course of Spanish origin. A few styles are "correct" in Tepoztlán.

It remains to mention the *zarape*. Ramon Mena[1] derives the word from Nahuatl *tzalanpepechtli* (*tzalan*, "interwoven," and *pepechtli*, "thick blanket"), a descriptive term applied by the Indians to the heavy blankets, often woven in with metal threads, carried by the conquerors and placed by them upon the ground when resting or sleeping. This blanket and the *tilmahtli* fused, culturally, and became the *zarape*. In Tepoztlán two forms are worn: the blanket form, wrapped around the shoulders and held together with one arm, and the *poncho* form,[2] in which the head passes through an opening in the center. The *zarape* is entirely masculine, but on unusually cold days a woman may borrow a *zarape* and wear it beneath her *rebozo*.

The *machete* (N. *tlateconi* or *tepoztlateconi*), the characteristic Mexican steel knife with the curved tip, is

[1] Ramon Mena, "El Zarape," *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqeologia, Historia y Etnografia* (época 5ª), I, No. 4 (Sept.-Oct., 1925), 373 ff.

[2] This *poncho* is probably South American in origin.

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412 293 so generally carried that it may be mentioned as a part of the costume.

177 291 The woman's costume in Tepoztlán preserves fewer indigenous elements, although this is not the case in many other villages in Southern Mexico. Before the Conquest it consisted of two principal garments: a loose blouse (*huipilli*) and a skirt (*cueitl*), consisting of a rectangular cloth wrapped around the lower part of the body. The *huipilli*, under that same name, is worn in many Indian communities south of Morelos, but not in Tepoztlán. In Tepoztlán the woman's costume is European in origin, and the names of the garments in Nahuatl discourse are Spanish, except those for the skirts, which are descriptive Nahuatl terms.

291 Over white cotton underdrawers (S. *pantelones;* N. *pantelontin*) is worn an underskirt (S. *enaguas adentro;* N. *cueiztactli*), usually also white, and over this a colored overskirt (S. *enaguas encima;* N. *cueipanitl*). The skirts are ankle length, very full, and gored. A collarless shirt (S. *camisa;* N. *camisahtin*), tucked into the skirt, covers the upper part of the body. Over it is worn a blouse (S. *saco;* N. *sacohtin*), and over this usually an apron. This either includes an upper piece covering the chest, when it is called (S.) *babero*, (N.) *baberohtin*, or does not, when it is called (S.) *delantal*, (N.) *delantaltin*. Around the waist is wound a sash (S. *ceñidor;* N. *zinidor*), dark blue or gray, about eight inches wide and six to ten feet long. This is the only [286] garment of those here enumerated which is woven in

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177 184 These three classes are respectively represented, for example, in costume by the sandals, the *zarape*, and the trousers, and in agricultural tools by the pointed stick, the *coa*,[1] and the plow. But while a separation of Indian from European elements is of interest to the culture-historian, it is of no interest to the native of Tepoztlán. The integration of certain European elements with Indian features is complete. Although few introduced elements bear completely Nahuatl names (the *machete* is one exception),[2] the Tepoztecan is unconscious of any difference between these and pre-Columbian elements. He feels the same with regard to his sandals, which are almost wholly Indian in origin, as he does with regard to his white trousers, which are wholly European. The *machete* is as Mexican as the *petate*.

There is, however, a grouping of culture traits which corresponds to the prevailing attitude of the Tepoztecans themselves. So far as surviving Indian elements and as certain European elements are concerned, the integration is complete. The culture just described, involving elements of both cultural heritages, is that which is general throughout Tepoztlán. But not all of

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[1] The *coa* is the flat iron hoe with the blade set parallel with the handle. It preserves the curved edge and the function (it is used to heap up earth around the maize) of the aboriginal *huictli*, but it is now made of iron and has probably somewhat changed its shape.

[2] In speaking Nahuatl one uses the Spanish word modified to fit Nahuatl phonetics and morphology. Mariano Rojas, a native of Tepoztlán, in his *Manual de la lengua Nahuatl* (Mexico, 1927), lists Nahuatl names for many articles of European origin, but most of these, while intelligible, are the artificial constructs of a linguist, and few are in general use.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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is usually prepared as *clemole*, boiled and served with a sauce of *chiles*. This is a favorite breakfast dish. The wealthier and more sophisticated buy baker's bread for the morning and the evening meals, but eat *tortillas* too. The afternoon meal is much the same; it is likely to be the heaviest meal of the day. Then may be eaten lima beans toasted, or *tortas*, or perhaps chick-peas. Coffee or chocolate, and less commonly milk, may be drunk at any meal.

Intimately, when only the family is present, all sit together on the ground beside the hearth and eat. (Of course the well-to-do use tables.) If male company is present, the man sits with the guests and they are served by his wife, who eats alone. After breakfast the man goes to the field, or to his workbench; the wife resumes her domestic labors. The last sound at night, when all other sounds but the braying of *burros* and the barking of dogs have failed, is the slap-slap of the *tortillera* and the subdued, wet, rubbing sound of the maize-grinder.

A large share of the woman's life and interests is taken up with the *metate*, that ancient grinding-stone that has not changed in form or function for thousands of years. For some ten years a small steam mill has been in operation in Tepoztlán;[1] to this the women may bring their maize to be ground. But that most of the maize is, nevertheless, ground on domestic *metates* is due not only to the fact that mill-ground maize

[1] This is owned and operated not by a Tepoztecan but by a man from Xochimilco, Federal District.

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[415]

[412]

[p. i not processed] [p. ii]

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erally speaking, the tools and techniques used in *tlacolol* are still known by their Náhuatl names, whereas in plow culture Spanish names prevail. Still another difference results from the location of the lands involved. (See Fig. 22.) With few exceptions the privately owned land used for plow culture is much closer to the village than the *tlacolol* land. *Tlacololeros* generally rise at 4:00 A.M., travel about two to three hours to reach their fields, and return home a few hours later than plow culture farmers. The building of the road directly through the privately owned lands has made this contrast sharper. It is not uncommon for some Tepoztecan farmers to take the bus to their milpa. *Tlacololeros*, however, always walk or go by burro. (See Fig. 23.)

PLOW CULTURE

The basic tools of production in plow culture are the ax, plow, machete, and iron hoe. Two types of plows are used: the *arado criollo* (wooden plow) and the *arado polco* (steel plow). The wooden plow (Fig. 24) was introduced by the Spaniards shortly after the Conquest; the first steel plow (Fig. 25) came into the village toward the latter part of the nineteenth century after the railroad had been built through the upper portion of the municipio. Before the Revolution of 1910-20 the steel plow was used only by a few families, and, as late as 1926-27, Redfield reported only a few steel plows.[4] However, by the early thirties plows became more widely used, and in 1943 most farmers used steel plows in addition to wooden plows, each being used for different operations. In 1943, approximately 213 families owned their plows. This number represented only 48 per cent of the families in the village who owned land. In other words, 52 per cent of the landowners lacked one of the basic tools for plow culture.

The wooden plows are made locally by several men who specialize in this work, and the cost of the wooden plow is comparatively inexpensive. However, the prices of both the steel and wooden plow have increased in recent years, so that now considerable capital is needed to purchase a steel plow. (See Table 27.)

TABLE 27. Cost of Plows, in Pesos.

Year	Wooden Plow	Steel Plow
1926	3.00	—
1935	5.50	14.00
1940	7.50	18.00
1942	—	30.00
1944	12.00	40.00

The precise date of the introduction of oxen to Tepoztlán is not known, but they have been used in the village since long before the Revolution. (See Fig. 26.) Most

[4] "The ground is prepared with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very strong earth there are a few steel plowshares." Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 122.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The harvesting of corn, like all other operations in agriculture, is done on an individual family basis, with hired help if necessary. There is a minimum of labor exchange and cooperation. Our findings differ from those of Redfield. Redfield writes:

> The men always work in groups; the owner of the field has asked them to help him—it it is *cuatequitl*—and then when their fields are ripe he will help them harvest. These are social occasions. Each group has *la muleta*, "the little mule"—a bottle of alcohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation of their dinner is also done cooperatively at the house of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for the men. The owner of the fields supplies the food and drink. But there the cooperative harvesting ends, for the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.[10]

This account refers to a type of cooperation which does not now exist in Tepoztlán, and our informants did not remember its having existed in 1926 or even before the Revolution of 1910. Corn is shelled by both men and women. Women generally shell corn by hand in small quantities for daily use in the house and for small-scale trade. Large-scale shelling by the *carga* is generally done by the men who use an *elotero*, which is made of dry corncobs bound together in the form of a flat disc, over which the corn to be shelled is rubbed. Some use the black volcanic rock from the *texcal* for shelling. However, the corn selected for seed is shelled by hand by the men. Women of the two upper barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes frequently shell corn on a large scale, whereas in the larger, center barrios, large-scale shelling is considered a man's work. In many cases *peones* are hired for this job. The shelled corn is stored in sacks, for the most part, although there are still a few of the old *cuescomatl*. (See Fig. 28.) Many families put the skeleton of a dog's head or a piece of *ocote* wood and lime in the sacks or the *cuescomatl* to protect the corn against spoilage. Formerly when *cuescomatls* were made, the priest would be called to bless them. There is a belief that when a death occurs, the corn in the house or on the house site will be more subject to the ravages of insects.

The loss of stored corn from insects is one of the serious problems faced by Tepoztecans. Many farmers complain that they lose a few *cargas* a year in this fashion. It is rare to find corn that lasts through to August without being seriously damaged by corn worms. Tepoztecans have still received little help with this problem from Mexican agronomists.

An old tradition persists in the village to the effect that the boa constrictor was formerly used to prevent stealing of corn from the cornfields and the granary. It is said that the snake was fed salt and *tequesquite* by the owner of the field, and that thereafter the snake would frighten all strangers by climbing up the cornstalk and making a whistling noise. These snakes were apparently tame and did not harm the owner, but would attack strangers. There seems to have been some

[10] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 126-27.

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241 423 [178] land and *ejido*. Most of the families who either owned private land or held *ejido* or both and who also worked *tlacolol* had turned to *tlacolol* because their holdings were too small to support their families. But there is a trend among even the better-to-do families to turn back to *tlacolol;* for example, twelve of the twenty families who owned private land, held an *ejido* grant, and worked *tlacolol*, were among the large landowners.

SIZE OF CLEARINGS

Most *tlacolol* clearings are small, averaging between eight and twelve *cuartillos* of seed. The largest *tlacolol* operator in the village plants only thirty-five *cuartillos*. As we shall see, the great amount of labor necessary for clearing *tlacolol* land is the most important limiting factor in the size of clearings used. A related factor, however, is the growing shortage of land which has sufficiently grown back into forest after earlier clearings. Furthermore, *tlacolol* is definitely viewed as subsistence [626] agriculture, and any man who cleared inordinately large areas, even if he could, would incur the wrath of the other villagers.

TOOLS OF PRODUCTION

241 412 Plow and oxen are ruled out in *tlacolol* because of the nature of the terrain. In *texcal* the large volcanic rocks lie around helter skelter, so that it is difficult for a man even to walk. Similarly the steep slopes of the *cerros*, and the lime outcroppings make the plow and oxen impractical. In both types of *tlacolol*, the tools used are the *coa*, *tlalache*, *cuxala*, *azadón*, and machete. (See Fig. 29.) They are homemade [438] except for the iron tips in the hoe and machete, which are bought. Thus, in con-[422] trast to farmers in plow culture, most *tlacololeros* own their own tools. The cost of the *tlalache* and the *coa* are shown in Table 35.

[435]

TABLE 35. Cost of *Tlalache* and *Coa*, Tools Used in *Tlacolol*.

Year	Cost in Pesos	
	Tlalache	*Coa*
1926	1.50	1.25
1935	2.25	1.75
1940	3.00	2.25
1944	5.50	3.25

WORK CYCLE AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

243 *Preparation of Land:* Work in *tlacolol* begins in January. The trees are cut with an ax, and the bush is cleared with a machete, extremely difficult and time-consuming work. It takes approximately 40 to 50 days for a man to clear enough land for the planting of 12 *cuartillos* of corn. The trees and brush dry out and are burned in April, and the ashes are left to "fertilize" the soil. Burning is generally done in a single day with two or three men working together. If the materials are not all burned, the group will return and work another day. Enclosures of rocks

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and brush are then built around the clearing to keep out stray animals that usually graze in these areas. Most *tlacolol* clearings are used two years in succession, and the work of clearing is considerably reduced the second year, although it generally takes 10 to 15 days to clear the milpa of weeds the second year.

Planting: Planting in *tlacolol* begins in May, before the rains. This planting of the corn "dry," as Tepoztecans say, eliminates the danger of rodents getting at it. The corn used in *tlacolol* is a very hardy variety which sends roots out in all directions and which penetrates the rocky terrain. In planting, the *coxala* or *coa* are used.

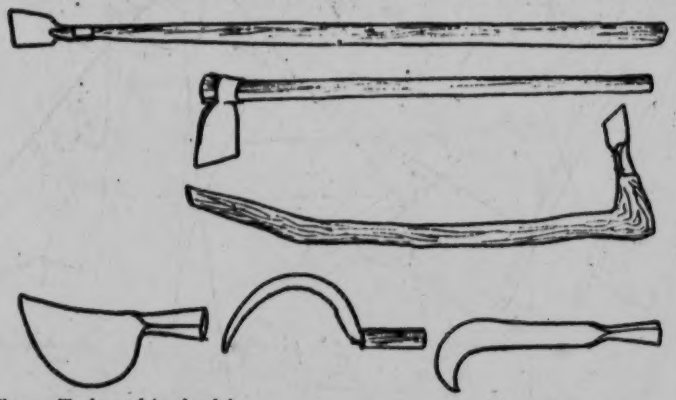

Fig. 29. Tools used in *tlacolol*.

A small hole about four to six inches deep is made wherever there is enough soil, and seeds are dropped in. Every interstitial space among the rocks is used. There are therefore no orderly rows in the planting. Beans and squash may be planted with the corn. A good worker can plant about one-half to three-quarters of a *cuartillo* a day; at this rate it would take about twenty man-days to plant the equivalent of one hectare of corn in *tlacolol*.

Cultivation: Unlike plow culture, there is no cultivation in *tlacolol*, nor is the corn hilled. There is generally at least one weeding which is done about forty days after planting, when the corn is about two feet tall. Weeding is of two kinds. In one kind, the weeds are pulled out by hand, and this process is known as the *tlamaltequa*. This is the preferred process, and it is believed that yields are higher if it is done this way. However, this is difficult and time-consuming. One man can weed about three *cuartillos* per day in *tlacolol* of *texcal* and considerably less in *tlacolol* of *cerro*. If there is some delay on the part of the farmer and if the weeds have grown very tall by the time weeding is begun, the machete is used. (See Fig. 30.)

After the weeding, the milpa is left alone except for occasional visits to check the enclosures. Sometimes night visits will be made and firecrackers will be set

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with cattle brought in from Guerrero in the belief that the animal would forget its past home.

Milk products are used for medicinal purposes. Whey, cheese, and butter are used for skin rashes, and cheese is used as a poultice for snake bites. Some families use, as a purgative, milk in which a cow's tail has been soaked. Pig's fat is commonly used as a salve for inflammations.

CHARCOAL

The production of charcoal by the burning of oak and other woods is one of the most important sources of income for many Tepoztecan families, but primarily for the poor. Charcoal production demands very little capital and few tools; it utilizes the communal forest resources; it serves as a convenient source of income for the landless peasants and as a supplementary source of income for those engaged in agriculture. As a rule, charcoal production is carried on as a part-time activity by farmers during the slack season. But in the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián, about fifteen individuals engage in charcoal production as a full-time occupation.

Charcoal production has risen and fallen at different times in recent Tepoztecan history. Charcoal production on a large scale began shortly after the Revolution, when Tepoztecans returned to the village from their enforced exile. Desperately poor and with all their animals killed off, they eagerly turned to charcoal as salvation. This development was encouraged and organized by a provisional president of the municipio, Jesús Monroy, who was imposed by the state authorities in 1919 shortly after peace was established in the village. Monroy called a meeting of Tepoztecans and organized workers into brigades of charcoal burners. As a result, a large portion of the forests of Tepoztlán was practically denuded, and there arose in the village a cleavage between those who wished to conserve the forest resources and those who cut the trees for charcoal.

During the late twenties, Tepoztlán organized a forestry cooperative, the first in the state of Morelos, and large-scale production began again. Conflict ensued and the cooperative ceased to exist in 1937. Since that time, charcoal production has continued on an individual basis. Data on charcoal production in the municipio are available for the years 1934–42. (See Table 41.) During this period 3,923,518 pounds of charcoal were produced. These figures are in all probability lower than the actual amount, for much charcoal is produced secretly in violation of federal forestry regulations.

The tools used in charcoal production are an ax, a shovel, a pickax, and a machete. Charcoal workers generally leave the village for the mountains in the early morning, going alone or in groups of two or three friends or relatives. It is not customary to hire workers in this occupation, because most workers want to come home at the end of the day, and charcoal burning necessitates staying out for a few days at a time. To make charcoal, oak and sometimes pine trees are felled, cut up into logs a few feet long, and piled upright to form a charcoal oven or

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Fig. 32. Picking hog plums.

ROPEMAKING

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Ropemaking, like charcoal burning, is limited to the smaller upper barrios of the village, and is concentrated in the barrio of San Sebastián where ten families [621] engage in this occupation during the dry slack season. All of these families are in [735] the lower economic level of the village, so ropemaking is also an occupation of the poor.

According to local tradition, ropemaking was introduced into the village about [177] 1883 by a man from Ajuchitlán who came to live in the barrio of San Sebastián.[8] It is interesting that in all the years since then, there has been little spread of rope- [178] making to other parts of the village, and there has been little change in the techniques employed, except that the ropes have become much longer. In 1890 ropes only 12 varas long were made. Now Tepoztecans make ropes 24 and 30 varas long.

Ropemaking is a family affair; it takes two or three persons for the major operation, twisting. Most of the *ixtle* fiber is obtained from the maguey plants which grow on the *cerros* of the communal lands. But only about half of the families who make [314] rope gather their own *ixtle* fiber; the others buy it.

The maguey plant is beaten with a special tool which breaks up the plant so that the fibers can be extracted. The fiber is then soaked overnight. The fiber is spun on a simple spinning device and is then ready for the rope twisting process. This is done on a rather complicated homemade device shown in Fig. 33.

[8] Although we have no evidence as to whether ropemaking as it is now known existed in pre-Hispanic Tepoztlán, it is probable that some type of cordage was known and used in connection with weaving.

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Today

almost every house has a hearth made of three stones set in a triangle, or of stones plastered in the shape of a horseshoe, to support the griddle. It is no longer always located on the floor, but is frequently raised to almost table-height by means of a cement platform. The use of platforms has been stimulated by the cultural missions that have visited the village and demonstrated to the more interested and enterprising women some ways of improving their homes. The *brasero*, a raised clay stove with two or three charcoal-burning iron grates on top, is generally still found only in better-to-do homes and is used sparingly or only for preparing fiesta meals. The *comal* (griddle), which in Redfield's time was always clay, is now frequently iron, and many families own one of each type. Though the *comal* is still an indispensable utensil in every home, the increasing consumption of bread, especially for breakfast and supper, makes it somewhat less used than formerly. The same is true of the *metate* (grinding stone), since almost all women now have their corn ground at the mill. But every home has one or more *metates* for re-grinding mill-ground corn and for emergencies. *Metates* are also used for coffee and for large quantities of chile for fiestas. Despite the commercial mills, no Tepoztecan woman would set up housekeeping without her own *metate*. Finally, the *olla*, mentioned by Redfield, is the clay pot in which the maize for tortillas is cooked. To this utensil must be added the pot for beans, another for coffee, and another for meat. Most families have one large pot to retain the water in which maize has been soaked and cooked, and the water needed to moisten the woman's hands as she makes tortillas. This water, which contains some nourishment, is then fed to the pigs.

The remaining house furnishings are relatively few; they consist mainly of sleeping equipment, religious articles, and various containers for storage. For sleeping there are three kinds of beds: the *petate* or straw mat placed on the floor; the *tepexco*, a raised bed of bamboo sticks tied together and placed on a wooden frame or on two sawhorses; and a brass or iron bedstead with metal springs over which a *petate*, rather than a mattress, is generally placed. The great majority of the population sleep either on the floor or on the *tepexco*, and only 19.29 per cent sleep on a bed or cot.[4] The proportion of those who sleep on a bed or cot for Mexico as a whole is far greater (61.1 per cent), and even for communities of 10,000 or less inhabitants it is 53.4 per cent.[5]

The majority of Tepoztecans sleep on the floor because they lack the funds to buy beds, but most of the older generation, regardless of their economic status, sleep that way by preference. Many an acculturated family has sought without success to accustom the old mother or grandmother to sleeping on a bed. Some old people are afraid of falling off during the night, others say that to sleep off the ground is to be more subject to *los aires* (evil winds). One old woman told her grandchildren that it is better to sleep on the floor because it is closer to mother

[4] This figure was derived from a special tabulation of census data for Tepoztlán taken from the Mexican Census of 1940.

[5] Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 291.